1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

583 A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin, [584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relatives might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was 591 ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sinyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Someone would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy: we want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; [581] he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then 583 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck- 591 skin, meat, corn, pi'on nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own house. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If 586 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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how we needed it! The air in the room was thick with the smell of sweating bodies and campfire smoke. I kept wondering why Lucy was not in school that day, so asked Sue, her sister. Sue was an intelligent girl of thirteen, and quite unhappy about Lucy. She told me that her father had sold her sister to an elderly widower because he offered more blankets and corn than the boy with whom Lucy was in love could pay. I wondered if I should rescue Lucy from the old widower's clutches, and argued the matter with myself until the task of trying to teach seventy-one pupils in that hot room drove all thought of her thwarted romance from my mind.

Shortly before the noon recess, the room grew dark, except for occasional flashes of lightning. Heavy rolls of thunder reverberated up and down the canyon. Rain was pouring at dismissal time, so we sang songs until the quick summer shower had passed. Unless Frances and her detail of boys and girls had the food cooked before the rain came, there would be no hot lunch for the children, since the cooking was done out of doors. The dining tables stood under the big tree in front of our cottage.

The officers marched their companies to the tables, which had been hastily wiped off and set after the shower. There were dishes of stew and cooked dried fruit on each table. I tapped the bell for silence, and the children said grace, yanked the stools from under the tables and began filling their plates. The habit of eating hurriedly was their heritage from the days in the not distant past, when too many meals had been interrupted by enemy raids.

As a special honor, and also because we needed their help, we seated an older boy at one end of every table and an older girl at the opposite end, each an officer. They served the smaller children, then usually got too busy with their own meal to give further attention. So I supervised the serving of the food, giving help where needed and encouraging correct table manners.

The waiters brought plates of hot biscuits; they were emptied as they touched the tables but when the biscuits were broken open, the inside was soft dough. The shrub, under which the range

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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That was one phase of the situation the Great Father had not thought out; neither had I. The old wife and her children would be the ones to go, and she had borne her share of trouble. I told him to keep both families, and give them equal care. I did not report his case to Washington, nor did I seek advice as to the best method for disposing of surplus wives and children.

The Indians said that Manakadja had first married the older woman, a member of his tribe. Years later, while camped on a mesa, he met a young Paiute woman whom he wanted for his wife. Whether the Paiute girl objected to sharing his affections with another or whether he had tired of the "old wife," he discarded her. Later, they were reconciled and he established homes for the two women in the same dooryard.

Leslie Spier relates a story,* told him by Sinyella, the elderly tribesman, which helped me realize that not all broken marriages involved the heartache I had imagined.

While hunting on the mesa, Sinyella's father met a young Navaho woman, living in a brush shelter of her own contriving. She must have been a venturesome girl to have walked across the snow-covered desert from "away back there" to her camp site, searching for Navaho relatives whom she had heard were camped in this region. The girl had anticipated her need for a campfire by carrying the Indian's "slow match." This was made by rubbing cedar bark until soft and pliable, binding it with yucca leaves into a slender rope, and igniting one end. The rope was carried in a loose coil. By blowing on the smoldering end, fire could easily be lighted.

Sinyella's father wanted the girl and took her to his home as his wife. Years later, some Hopi men came into the canyon to trade. The woman slipped away to the Hopi village and became the wife of one of the visiting men. Her Havasupai husband followed, demanding her return. When the Hopi man refused to let the woman go, Sinyella's father stated his alternative: "You must give me something; then you can have her." The "some-

* *Havasupai Ethnography*, American Museum of Natural History.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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586 thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

582 Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and 586 "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony 581 that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

581 On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, 713 woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

584 Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and [583] her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

587 Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small 591 village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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timately, so when two young people fell in love, with the parents' consent they set up housekeeping, usually with the girl's family.

Like Jacob of old, the boy became a member of the household, serving or working with his father-in-law. With the arrival of children, the young couple established their own home, unless the girl's parents were old and needed their help.

Life in a Havasupai home with its unfathomable undercurrents was even more interesting than the mysteries hidden in the canyon walls. These people lived close to the earth; the soil was warm and friendly, giving life to the sustenance by which they survived. It was the table from which they ate, the chairs on which they lounged; on it they built their cooking fires. They liked the feel of the familiar earth beneath their feet as they walked, and under their bodies at night. To it, as to the stones and water, they ascribed a living force. Just why they paid tribute to inanimate things instead of to the power that created them, I failed to understand. But I had no difficulty in understanding why they hedged themselves about with superstitions. Hadn't I, when a child, broken a mirror and been told that certainly bad luck would follow? Why had my race become subservient to this and other superstitions as senseless as those that dominated the lives of the Indians? I have never learned the answer. But I was reminded of some of the latter at a home where a young mother and grandmother were caring for a new baby.

Happy chatter and laughter greeted me as I approached the open doorway of a half-dugout, dark within, but clean and neat. A girl of about fourteen, sitting on a blanket on the dirt floor, held a baby in her arms. An older woman, squatting near by, gave the baby a gentle pat and, glancing up at me, asked, "Papoose, you think good?"

"Very good," I assured the grandmother, "and very pretty. A perfect little girl." The mother didn't impress me as being a person who would give much thought to superstitions or taboos but if she hadn't observed them, how could she account for a perfect baby? She knew taboos, the older women had seen to that,

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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The process of making strands or splints of the willows is a very simple and primitive one. Here as I sit writing (Sept. 14, 1901), Chickapanagie's squaw has a lot of willow shoots before her. Taking hold of one end of the splint in her teeth, she pulls away the cuticle with her fingers. These alone are her tools, and it is astonishing the rapidity and regularity with which the process is accomplished. 285

As soon as a girl can frame her fingers to the work of basket making she is required to begin. It is very interesting to watch the small children in their endeavors to make the rougher baskets, and then, as they grow in skill, try the finer work. Pul-a-gas'-a-a is not more than eight years of age, and yet a basket — kü-ü— she brought to me was one of her own make, and it now occupies a place in my collection. The work is irregular and crude, but shows skill, and if the child has patience to stick to it, in time she will become one of the most accomplished basket makers of the tribe. 285 868

As soon as possible after attaining puberty the Havasupai girls marry, generally between the ages of thirteen and fourteen. The parents themselves urge these early marriages. Whether they fear the loss of virtue in their daughters from evil white men, or the degenerate young men of their own tribe, I do not know, but several parents have told me that the sooner their girls marry, after they are marriageable, the better pleased they are. 582

Marriage is generally arranged by purchase. When a young man sets his affections upon any particular girl, he contrives to show his preference for her, and, as soon as he finds that his attentions are agreeable, he visits his fair one's father or nearest male relative, and 584●

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bride-[591] groom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile. 585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife. [591] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 593 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often — even, also, as white young people do — they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter. [586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

3.James T-8 (ca.1908) 1903
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its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple.

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded.

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy *friends*," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 18, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

584 834 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 183 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 834 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as *primary* and *secondary*. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Hpvasupai point of [53%] view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't [18%] like sex.")

No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods 942 or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become 946 permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection 584 to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering 584 strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[85] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and [57%] aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 854 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love-matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired.) 581 183 832 [162] [208]

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
[177] position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[559] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of the practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[582] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
● 582 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[582] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

582 It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have predicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[673] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[183] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional behav-
14 ior. . ."

Marriage Arrangements

584 Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two distinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself, and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter. [731] Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were

related, or his parents might dislike her or her family. If his parents vetoed a marriage, a boy usually respected their wishes, but on the other hand, if a son refused a match his parents desired for him, they might "keep after him" until he yielded. With traditional patrilocal residence, it was to the advantage of a boy's parents that their son marry a girl who would be an asset in their household, both in temperament and capabilities. 584

While a girl could not properly take the initiative in choosing her husband, her father occasionally might do so. This seldom happened unless a girl had no brother or was an only child. Her father would desire an industrious son-in-law to help him and, later on, to look after him during old age. In such case, the father would seek a man willing to adopt permanent matrilocal residence. When the girl's father settled upon someone he liked, he usually would consult her before speaking to the boy's parents. If the boy were unwilling, his parents usually did not press him into this type of marriage. The parents themselves might refuse to consider such a proposal unless they felt reasonably sure that it would not deprive them of needed assistance in their declining years.

Although a marriage proposal might have been accepted beforehand by a bride, when the groom came to the bridal bed he sometimes met token resistance, very likely an expression of the culturally inculcated shyness which was considered by a woman of any age as being properly feminine behavior. On the other hand, if a girl's parents had made arrangements against her wishes (or perhaps, if she were genuinely fearful), she probably would fight with all her strength or would try to run away on her bridal night, or later, if she were temporarily subdued. An informant gave the following description of possible courses open to a bride: 585 [834]

"The girl might start fighting the boy when he wanted to get into her bed, but he kept on trying his best to sleep with her. If she didn't like it, she might run out of her parent's hogan and go to her relatives nearby. These relatives would know her folks wanted her to marry that boy, so they would talk to her about going back.

"Sometimes, the boy would leave the girl alone for a night or two, then he came trying again. If the girl really didn't like him, or if she was just scared to get married, she would scratch the boy and fight him off. Her parents would help the boy. Sometimes, the boy wanted to take her to his place. If the girl was fighting him off, her parents would help take her away, because they wanted her to marry him. The girl would try to fight her parents too. They wouldn't give in to her if they wanted to keep the stuff the boy's father gave them.

"Sometimes, it took quite awhile, three or four months or maybe a whole year, before the girl gave up and let the boy stay married with her. The boy and her parents made her do it in those old days if they really wanted it that way, but sometimes her folks didn't care and gave back the stuff when they [585]

585 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he
586 didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage
584 both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and
178 influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual
177 acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1938, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

582 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1930-34 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 25 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. Informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as a son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.) [114]

582 587 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1930 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 18 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of the married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 30. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms. [584]

582 A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [882
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

611 614 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the absence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but [582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con- [586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with the men, as a cause. Betrothals by [584] purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being [582] frequently promised to a man as old as, or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [171] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,